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ABSTRACT

The Moral Majority has been more successful in mobilizing conservative Christians than three other evangelical groups--Third Century Publishers, Christian Voice, and the Religious Roundtable. According to the literature on social movements, four possible explanations for the success of such groups are that they have access to financial resources, can maintain an extensive network of communications between organizers and constituents, can draw upon the expertise and skills of social movement entrepreneurs, and can mobilize during a period in time in which there is a favorable conjunction of issues. None of these factors proves wholly satisfactory in accounting for differences among the four organizations in their mobilization of supporters. The Moral Majority was more successful because its leadership provided it with access to pre-existing networks which were unavailable to other Christian groups. For example, Jerry Falwell's "Old Time Gospel Hour" provided a communications link via television to a large national audience. The Moral Majority's genius lay in linking with a national network of conservative clergymen and in championing issues of major concern to this group. While taking advantage of these pre-existing associations, the Moral Majority did have to accommodate their previously organized constituencies. (RM)

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Mobilizing the Moral Majority

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Mobilizing the Moral Majority

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The 1970's brought the formation of a number of conservative Christian groups which sought to influence national politics. Standard explanations for their success in mobilizing moral Americans emphasize the role of financial patronage, the effects of the electronic church, the contributions of New Right political operatives, and a favorable conjunction of issues. A comparative analysis of the careers of four national organizations suggests that none of these factors proves wholly satisfactory in accounting for differences in their mobilization of supporters. The experience of Moral Majority suggests that links with pre-existing associations were the major factor in its successful mobilization campaign and that the incorporation of a national network of fundamentalists left a distinct mark on the organization's structure and activities. Research on the New Christian Right suggests that while pre-existing associations lower the costs of mobilization, social movement organizations may face a stiff price in accommodating previously organized constituencies.

The 1970s brought the formation of many conservative evangelical groups which sought to influence national politics. Most were single-issue groups which mobilized modest numbers and largely escaped national attention. But a small number differed in goals and strategy from the great majority. Eschewing single-issue campaigns, they sought to address a wide range of moral, economic, and foreign policy issues from a distinctively Christian perspective. Favoring an ecumenical strategy, they sought to mobilize large numbers of conservative Americans from a variety of denominations.

Although they shared similar goals and received considerable national attention, the four major groups -- Third Century Publishers, Christian Voice, Religious Roundtable, and Moral Majority -- had varying success in mobilizing conservative Christians.

The social movements literature provides a number of alternative explanations for the success of social movement organizations. How well do these account for differences in the mobilization of conservative evangelical groups?

The first major effort to build a national movement of conservative Christians came in 1974. Arizona Congressman John Conlan and Bill Bright, president and founder of Campus Crusade for Christ, devised a plan to politicize and educate people in every Congressional district who would become part of a national grassroots effort to elect evangelical Christians sharing a conservative political agenda. They obtained substantial pledges from wealthy evangelical businessmen to support Third Century Publishers. Its chief purposes were to distribute publications and to recruit representatives from each congressional district. The representatives were responsible for developing a program of home study groups to encourage evangelical Christians to get involved in politics and to train them in methods of political organizing. Allied with Third Century Publishers was Bright's plan to save America which centered on an organization called Here's Life America. Planned as a city saturation evangelistic campaign, Here's Life America sought to organize the resources of 50,000 local churches in cooperation with Campus Crusade. Drawing on a network of wealthy evangelical contributors, Bright attempted to raise $35 million for Here's Life, America. Although its literature was used in at least thirty congressional campaigns, Third Century failed to spawn the grassroots evangelical movement which was its major goal. As Third Century disbanded, Bright turned his efforts to Here's Life, America, collecting over $170 million by mid-1980, and later served as co-organizer of the April, 1980 Washington for Jesus rally (Wallis and Michaelson, 1976; Huntington and Kaplan, 1980).

Bill Bright's ventures provided a model for later groups. Christian Voice began in late 1978 through the merger of several California anti-gay, anti-pornography, and

pro-family groups. Two New Right entrepreneurs, David Troxler and Gary Jarmin, held important posts in the organization. Voice depended heavily on television evangelists for organizing. Pat Robertson, head of the Christian Broadcasting Network, featured Christian Voice on his "700 Club" and provided access to the more than one hundred stations affiliated with CBN. In 1979, Voice claimed 130,000 members from 37 denominations, but most were members of independent Baptist, Bible, and Assembly of God churches. Voice's strongest support came from the West and Southwest, although local chapters appeared in Virginia, South Carolina, and Florida (Guth, 1982; Plowman, 1979).

Formed in late 1979 by Conservative Caucus field director Ed McAteer, the Religious Roundtable represented a different organizational strategy. Modelled after industry's Business Roundtable, it was more a trade association for the leadership of the secular and Christian New Right than a mass membership organization. Its members represented a wide range of groups and personalities on the right, including the Christian Broadcasting Network, Christian Voice, Moral Majority, Campus Crusade, and individuals such as Richard Viguerie, Phyllis Schlafly, Paul Weyrich, and Adrian Rogers, former president of the Southern Baptist Convention (Huntington and Kaplan, 1980).

Roundtable organized a series of national seminars for political discussion and education which included workships to teach participants how to mobilize their congregations on behalf of conservative causes. The most successful of these events was August, 1980 Dallas National Affairs Briefing where thousands of clergy and laymen heard from leading New Right figures, many of the nation's prominent televangelists, Southern Baptist President Bailey Smith, and presidential candidate Ronald Reagan. After the election, Roundtable shifted its efforts to the formation of local affiliates (Clymer, 1981). While its leadership claimed a membership of 160,000 ministers, the figure represented the size of its vast mailing list. Its turn to local mobilization provided indirect evidence of its failure to reach the grassroots.

Founded in June, 1979, Moral Majority initially emphasized name recognition and voter registration. National polls document the fruits of its effort. A December, 1980 Gallup poll reported that 40% of the sample had heard or read of the Moral Majority. In May, 1981, a Washington Post-ABC News poll which repeated the questions reported that the figure rose to 49% (Peterson and Sussman, 1981). The success of its voter registration campaign is harder to measure. While it boasted of registering over four million voters, some observers set the figure at two million for the combined efforts of Moral Majority, Christian Voice, and the Roundtable (Lipset and Raab, 1981).

From its inception, Moral Majority worked aggressively to build ties to the grassroots. On its second anniversary, Moral Majority was able to claim chapters in all fifty states, numerous local affiliates, and an active Washington office which spent over $6 million for the fiscal year ending in August, 1981. The Moral Majority

Report reached over 840,000 homes and over 300 stations broadcast the daily Moral Majority news commentary. By its count, over 4 million Americans, including over 72,000 ministers, priests, and rabbis, were Moral Majority members (Covert, 1981; Associated Press, 1981). Outsiders greatly diminish the figure, arguing that the organization included anyone on its extensive mailing lists as a member. Conservative estimates set Moral Majority membership at about 400,000.

Regardless of the exact figure, the number should give pause. Moral Majority's membership is orders of magnitude larger than that of its competitors. To be sure, all four groups had similar goals and sought the support of roughly the same constituency. However, none achieved the success of Moral Majority in attracting members, creating affiliates, and obtaining public recognition. In time, Moral Majority became the byword for the entire New Christian Right.

What accounts for Moral Majority's greater success in mobilizing conservative Americans? Four possible explanations stand forth in many journalistic accounts. All have firm roots in the literature on social movements. Each speaks to a different ingredient of organizational success.

One common explanation holds that movement success depends on access to financial resources. Large-scale mobilization campaigns require massive amounts of money. Organizations which begin with strong financial backing have substantial advantages. Of the four groups, Bill Bright's ventures had the greatest financial patronage. Yet with a much smaller budget, Moral Majority mobilized larger numbers. Financial patronage was not responsible for its success.

A second explanation contends that movement success depends on an extensive network of communications between organizers and constituents. The electronic church grew rapidly during the 1970s and provided an available channel of communication between leaders and followers of the New Christian Right. But the role of the electronic church is uncertain. The failure of Here's Life, America and its predecessor, Third Century Publishers, to develop durable links with the electronic church may have hurt their mobilization. In contrast, all three of the 1979 organizations were allied with televangelists: Pat Robertson with Christian Voice, James Robison with the Religious Roundtable, and Jerry Falwell with Moral Majority. Televangelism may have given Moral Majority an edge. Falwell broadcasts on more television stations than any of the ten most popular evangelists. But the link with the electronic church is only part of the answer for Moral Majority's success. Falwell reaches fewer than a million homes and his audience share declined during the early months of Moral Majority mobilization (Martin, 1981).

A third explanation suggests that successful mobilization depends on the skills of social movement entrepreneurs. While political operatives from the secular New

Right were present at the formative stages of all four groups, they appear to have played a more durable role in Christian Voice and Religious Roundtable. The extent of their contribution is hard to assess for all four groups drew on indigenous organizational talent accumulated through extensive experience in building evangelical organizations. There is no strong evidence to suggest that Moral Majority's greater success was due to its disproportionate share of outside expertise.

A fourth explanation argues that successful mobilization depends on a conjunction of issues. When the programs of social movement organizations suit the groundswell of public opinion, they stand to mobilize extensive numbers. There is strong evidence to suggest that circumstances at the end of the decade may have been more propitious for the politicization of conservative Christians than the political atmosphere of 1976. However, all three 1979 groups differed little in programs and each should have shared the good fortune of a conservative mood among evangelical Christians. The argument loses its bite when confronted with the different fates of similar organizations formed at roughly the same time.

While all four of the explanations are suggestive, none is completely satisfactory. Factors shared by the four organizations cannot account for differences in their mobilization. All of the factors contributed to Moral Majority's mobilization but none of them provides compelling evidence for its greater success.

Are we to conclude that Moral Majority was specially blessed? Before crediting higher powers, most sociologists will want to take a second look at the ground on which Moral Majority was formed. Social movement organizations do not appear spontaneously. They develop through deliberate efforts to organize participants and accumulate resources. They take shape through the sustained effort of movement activists to effect programs of change.

These considerations provide the starting point for resource mobilization theories of social movements (Tilly, 1978; McCarthy and Zald, 1977). The theories give pride of place to the role of resources and structure in mobilization. They hold that mobilization depends on the ability to increase control over valued resources. They suggest that rapid mobilization is most likely in groups characterized by extensive internal organization and high participation (Oberschall, 1973). When mobilizing groups are able to incorporate members of pre-existing collectivities, the costs of mobilization decrease. Recruitment into mobilizing groups is facilitated by an existing structure of ties. Recent research on recruitment into social movement organizations suggests that the key factors were links to movement members through interpersonal ties and the relative weakness of countervailing networks (Snow, Zurcher, and Ekland-Olson, 1980).

Can Moral Majority's more rapid mobilization be explained by its access to

pre-existing networks which were unavailable to other conservative Christian groups? Pre-existing associations played an important role in the two phases of Moral Majority's mobilization program. In its formative period, Moral Majority capitalized on ties among evangelical leaders and drew on their previous political experience. In its organizational phase, Moral Majority forged strong links with a national network of fundamental clergy.

Moral Majority's founders were a group of prominent conservative clergymen. The original triad consisted of Jerry Falwell, Tim LaHaye, and Greg Dixon. Urged on by New Right figures such as Howard Phillips, Paul Weyrich, Robert Billings, and Ed McAteer, Falwell was the prime mover in the effort. Charles Stanley and D. James Kennedy were added to the original board of directors (LaHaye, 1980: 201; Mayer, 1980: 31). The five men ministered to five of America's hundred largest churches (Towns, Vaughan, and Seifert, 1981). Each held a special place in fundamentalist pantheon.

Jerry Falwell built the Thomas Road Baptist Church into one of the nation's largest and perhaps, its most visible church. One of the first pastors to recognize the importance of media preaching, he began radio broadcasts one week after opening his church in 1956 and later turned the bulk of his efforts to television. His "Old Time Gospel Hour," constructed around the eleven o'clock service of his church, is seen weekly on 373 television stations. In fiscal 1979, the program raised $35 million from the two and a half million people on its mailing lists. Recognizing that he could gain greater attention by talking about social issues than theological topics, Falwell turned to politics. In 1976, he began a series of "I Love America" rallies on the steps of state capitols throughout the nation. In the mold of religious revivals, the rallies were featuring singing groups from Liberty Baptist College, appearances by local politicians, and Falwell's call for a moral America. In 1977, Falwell associated himself with campaigns led by Anita Bryant and Phyllis Schlafly, and the following year, launched his Clean Up America campaign. At the end of 1978, Falwell took credit for the defeat of a gay-rights ordinance and a state version of the ERA in Florida and the defeat of a proposal to legalize pari-mutual betting in Virginia (Fitzgerald, 1981).

While Falwell spanned the airwaves, Tim LaHaye's reputation stretched across the shelves of Christian bookstores nationwide. One of the nation's leading fundamentalist writers, LaHaye is the author of at least sixteen books which sell over 300,000 copies a year. The key tract in the attack on secular humanism, LaHaye's The Battle for the Mind became a primer for political action by conservative Christians. LaHaye is founder and president of Family Life Seminars and the founder of the San Diego Christian Unified School System and Christian Heritage College.

In 1979, he and his wife became co-chairpersons of Family America, a clearing house for pro-family groups (LaHaye, 1980).

The founder of the 8,000 member Indianapolis Baptist Temple, Greg Dixon was a veteran of fundamentalist political battles in the 1970s. Dixon came to national attention when he led 400 ministers who formed a human chain around Reverend Lester Roloff's home for children to prevent its closing by Texas welfare officials. He also organized large rallies in support of Anita Bryant's campaign against homosexuality, the Indiana Church Freedom Legislative Package, and strict controls on pornography (Conservative Digest, August, 1979).

By inviting Charles Stanley and D. James Kennedy, Moral Majority built bridges to other Baptist denominations. A Southern Baptist, Stanley is a leader in the campaign to get Christians involved in politics. His cassette sermon, "Stand Up America!" circulated widely among churches. The morning service of his 8,000 member First Baptist Church in Atlanta is telecast across the nation by satellite (Conservative Digest, May/June, 1980: 21). The author of several books, James Kennedy pastors to the fastest-growing Presbyterian church in America. He helped organize the Religious Roundtable's Dallas National Affairs Briefing and distributed a legal opinion on I.R.S. policy toward political activities by churches.

Rounding out the list of Moral Majority's founders was Reverend Bob Billings who served as its first executive director. Billings played a major role in organizing private Christian schools and served as president of fundamentalist Hyles-Anderson College. After running unsuccessfully for Congress in 1976, he founded the National Christian Action Coalition to fight government interference in Christian education. In 1978, he organized a campaign against IRS efforts to withdraw the tax-exemption of racially imbalanced Christian schools which resulted in the mailing of 127,000 letters of protest (Clendinen, 1980).

The resources developed by its leadership gave Moral Majority a running start. Falwell's "Old Time Gospel Hour" provided a communications link to a large national audience and a list of 250,000 prime donors used to initiate a fundraising campaign which brought Moral Majority over $2.2 million in its first year. By incorporating Journal Champion, a newsletter distributed to the Old Time Gospel Hour's many contributors, Moral Majority Report began life with a circulation that many publishers work a lifetime to achieve. At about the same time, Tim LaHaye brought Family America into the Moral Majority fold (Plowman, 1979; Associated Press, 1981; Conservative Digest, May/June, 1980: 19).

From its start, Moral Majority made grass-roots mobilization a high priority. Its organizational phase began with the recruitment of state chairmen to start Moral Majority chapters in all fifty states. State chairmen would form the bridge between

the national leadership and the grassroots.

Moral Majority's genius lay in linking with a national network of conservative clergymen. Table 1 presents the list of Moral Majority state chairmen. All but two are identifiable as clergymen. While the national office claimed to represent a broad spectrum of Protestants, Catholics, and Jews, the list suggest otherwise. All of the forty-five whose denominational affiliations were identified are Baptist ministers. Most pastor to independent Baptist churches. Twenty-eight are affiliated with the Baptist Bible Fellowship, a loose confederation of more than 2500 independent fundamentalist churches and nearly 2500 pastors (Baptist Bible Fellowship, 1981). Its most prominent members include the trio of Moral Majority founders -- Jerry Falwell, Tim LaHaye, and Greg Dixon.

Doctrinally, the Bible Baptist Fellowship is in the main line of traditional Baptist beliefs. While strongly fundamentalist, its members are not separatists. The main way in which Bible Baptists differ from most Baptists is in their ecclesiology. They emphasize the autonomy of the local church and the placing of strong authority in the pastor as the sheperd of his flock (Mead, 1980: 44).

It was not doctrine which placed the Baptist Bible Fellowship at the vanguard of the Moral Majority. Assembly of God and Nazarene churches, for example, share similar theology and their ministers served as members of state executive committees. It was the distinctive organizational character of the Fellowship which made possible Moral Majority's mobilization and gave it a reputation as "perhaps the largest and fastest-growing body of independent Baptists in the United States" (Mead, 1980: 44).

At the heart of its success is its strong commitment to church-planting. This is the mission of the Baptist Bible College which bills itself as the world's largest Bible college. A statement from W. E. Dowell, college president and Missouri state chairman of Moral Majority, epitomizes the mandate set forth by its founders, "It was their purpose to make Baptist Bible College a real Baptist college, and not only turn out great Christians, but solid Baptists that would go out to build Baptist churches" (Baptist Bible College, 1981). BBC alumnus, Jerry Falwell, was the featured speaker at the college's thirtieth anniversary celebration (Alumni Advocate, Spring, 1981: 1).

The commitment to church-planting extends beyond the membership of the Baptist Bible Fellowship. It is at the heart of the fundamentalist movement in America. Fundamentalist churches benefitted disproportionately from the growth of conservative churches in the 1960s and 1970s (Towns, Vaughan, Seifert, 1981). Moral Majority was able to ride the crest of mounting numbers of fundamentalists.

Moral Majority was a movement of superchurches. Its directors were builders of great churches. Many state chairmen emulated their example, having started their

own churches and worked aggressively to build them into great churches. Several stood at the forefront of the church growth movement. State chairmen from Alaska, California, Hawaii, Michigan, Oregon, Rhode Island, and South Carolina pastor to churches with the fastest growing Sunday schools in their states according to 1979 and 1980 lists. Of the 100 churches with the nation's largest Sunday school attendance for 1979-80, six are led by Moral Majority state chairmen (Towns, Vaughan, Seifert, 1981: 356-365).

The commitment to church-planting established ties among independent fundamentalists. In mainstream Protestant churches, ministers can rely on national bodies for the money and advice which are crucial to church-planting. In contrast, independent fundamentalists must rely on a combination of personal resources and help from their friends. Established fundamentalist churches often nurture newly formed churches. Moral Majority's national leaders played important roles in starting several churches whose pastors later joined the organization. Other state chairmen came into contact with national Moral Majority leaders at national conferences on church growth.

The Christian schools movement provided another set of ties among Moral Majority leaders. Of the twenty-eight state chairmen affiliated with the Baptist Bible Fellowship, at least twenty-five sponsor Christian schools. As a group, they are nearly four times as likely to sponsor schools than the general membership of the Fellowship (Baptist Bible Fellowship, 1981). The statistic indicates that state chairmen probably represent the larger churches in the Fellowship and suggests the rationale behind Moral Majority's defense of Christian schools.

To a large extent, Moral Majority's mobilization depended on ties to pre-existing associations. The presence of a national network of fundamentalist clergy united by a common fellowship, a commitment to church building, and involvement with Christian schools facilitated the recruitment of state chairmen.

Given the strong traditions of local autonomy and pastoral authority, it is ironic that the fundamentalist connection is strong. These features have contributed to the fragmentation of American fundamentalism, a movement characterized by a large number of small denominations led by strong leaders. The structure of Moral Majority suggests its accomodation to fundamentalist ecclesiology. The tradition of local autonomy is reflected in the charter of Moral Majority affiliates. Jerry Falwell writes: "We encourage our Moral Majority state organizations to be autonomous and indigenous. Moral Majority state organizations may, from time to time, hold positions that are not held by the MM Inc. national organization" (Falwell, 1981:190). State chapters receive no financial support from the national organization. Each must operate like an independent church, developing its own resource base at the local level.

The charter facilitates the maintenance of strong local leadership. With substantial control over the program of their chapters, state chairmen are able to select issues of local concern which appeal to clergy in other churches which are the main targets of mobilization for most state chapters. Local issues also provide the opportunity to build coalitions with other moral action groups in order to broaden the membership beyond the boundaries of the fundamentalist universe.

While autonomy may work to increase membership, it creates problems for the national organization which exerts little control over the activities of its chapters. Although the 1980 election provided a common focus, the following months brought increasing diversity among the programs of Moral Majority affiliates. When chapters strayed from the fold, they sometimes created serious embarrassments for Moral Majority. A dispute over lobbying tactics and other issues, for example, led the national office to disband the Maryland chapter (Liebman, 1982). In its structure, Moral Majority resembles a fellowship rather than a denomination. By incorporating a national network of fundamentalists, it inherited an organizational structure which set limits on its action.

Let us return to our original question. Why was Moral Majority more successful in mobilizing conservative Christians? All four conservative evangelical groups -- Bill Brights' crusade, Christian Voice, Religious Roundtable, and Moral Majority -- shared similar goals and targeted the same constituency. Standard journalistic explanations which credit financial patronage, the electronic church, outside expertise, and propitious circumstances fail to fully account for their differential success in mobilizing moral Americans. While all of these factors contributed to the different fates of the groups, Moral Majority's greater success depended on features which its competitors lacked. Its strong links to fellowshipped fundamentalists and its willingness to champion issues which were the major concerns of the group were crucial to its rapid mobilization.

The mobilization of the New Christian Right suggests two lessons for students of social movements. The first is largely a recitation of familiar theories and recent research. While alternative explanations proliferate, there is strong evidence that successful movement organizations build on existing networks. Moral Majority outdistanced its competitors by riding on the back of a large and growing body of fellowshipped fundamentalists. The second lesson suggests a possible next assignment for research on social movements. When movements incorporate members of pre-existing associations, they are likely to inherit organizational models which may be hard to put aside. Moral Majority's charter for state chapters reflected the priorities of local autonomy and pastoral authority within American fundamentalism.

For sociologists, the moral of Moral Majority's mobilization is simply put. While the availability of pre-existing networks lowers the cost of mobilization, social movement organizations may have to pay a stiff price when they incorporate previously organized constituencies.

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Table 1 Moral Majority State Chairmen

Alabama	Rev. Dick Vignuelle	Shades Mt. Independent Church Birmingham (School)	Conservative Evangelica
Alaska	Dr. Jerry Prevo	Anchorage Baptist Temple (School)	BBF
Arizona	Dr. J. C. Joiner	New Testament Baptist Church Tucson (School)	BBF
Arkansas	Rev. Roy McLoughlin	First Baptist Church Vilonia	
California	Dr. Tim LaHaye	Scott Memorial Baptist San Diego	BBF
Colorado	Mr. Ed McKenna	Parker	
Connecticut	Rev. Robert Crichton	Colonial Hills Baptist Danbury	Independent Baptist
Delaware	Dr. R. H. Hayden	Pine Creek Baptist Temple Newark (School)	BBF
Florida	Dr. Bob Gray	Trinity Baptist Church Jacksonville (School)	BBF
Georgia	Dr. Bill Pennell	Forest Hills Baptist Church Decatur	
	Dr. Charles Stanley	First Baptist Church Atlanta	Southern Baptist
Hawaii	Dr. Don Stone	Lanakila Baptist Church Waipahu (School)	BBF
Idaho	Rev. Buddy Hoffman	Treasure Valley Baptist Church Boise	Independent Baptist
Illinois	Dr. George A. Zarris	Fox River Valley Baptist Church Aurora	Independent-Fundamentalist

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Indiana	Dr. Greg Dixon	Indianapolis Baptist Temple Aurora	BBF
Iowa	Dr. Olin R. Adams	Quint City Baptist Temple Davenport (School)	BBF
Kansas	Rev. Ray Melugin	Wichita Baptist Tabernacle (School)	BBF
Kentucky	Dr. W. Robert Parker	Kosmosdale Baptist Church Louisville	Baptist
Louisiana	Rev. Bob Buchanan	Central Baptist Church Baton Rouge	Baptist
Maine	Dr. Harry Boyle	Grace Baptist Church Portland	BBF
Maryland	Dr. Herbert Fitzpatrick	Riverdale Baptist Church Upper Marlboro	BBF
Massachusetts	Dr. Thomas B. Ward	Boston	
Michigan	Dr. David Wood	Heritage Baptist Church Grand Rapids	Independent Baptist
Minnesota	Rev. Rich Angwin	Temple Baptist Church St. Paul (School)	BBF
Mississippi	Dr. James Johnson	Capitol City Baptist Church Jackson (School)	BBF
Missouri	Dr. W. E. Dowell	Springfield Baptist Temple (School)	BBF
Montana	Don Jones	Billings	
Nebraska	Rev. Gene Hutton	Marshall Drive Baptist Church Omaha (School)	BBF
Nevada	Rev. Duane Pettipiece	Gateway Baptist Church Las Vegas (School)	BBF
New Hamshire	Dr. Arlo Elam	Tabernacle Baptist Church Hudson (School)	BBF

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ew Jersey	Dr. Harry Vickery	Heritage Baptist Temple Saddle Brook (School)	BBF
ew Mexico	Dr. Curtis Goldman	Temple Baptist Church Albuquerque (School)	BBF
ew York	Dr. Dan Fore	Staten Island Baptist Church New York City	Independent Baptist
orth Carolina	Rev. Lamarr Mooneyham	Tri-City Baptist Church Durham	BBF
orth Dakota	Rev. Ken Schaeffer	New Testament Baptist Church Larimore	Independent Baptist
hio	Rev. Thomas Trammell	Deer Park Baptist Church Cincinnatti (School)	BBF
klahoma	Rev. Jim Vineyard	Windsor Hill Baptist Church Oklahoma City (School)	BBF
regon	Rev. Mike Gass	Harvest Baptist Temple Medford	Independent Baptist
ennsylvania	Dr. Dino Pedrone	Open Door Baptist Church Chambersburg	
hode Island	Rev. Tom Crichton	Greater Rhode Island Baptist Temple Johnston	BBF
outh Carolina	Dr. Bill Monroe	Florence Baptist Temple (School)	BBF
outh Dakota	Rev. R. L. Tottingham	Bible Baptist Church Sioux Falls (School)	BBF
ennessee	Dr. Bobby Moore	Broadway Baptist Church Memphis	
exas	Dr. Gary Coleman	Lavon Drive Baptist Church Garland (School)	BBF
tah	Rev. Robert Smith	Salt Lake City	
ermont	Rev. David Buhman	Milton	

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Virginia	Rev. Danny Cantwell	Open Door Baptist Church Richmond (School)	BBF
Washington	Rev. Tom Starr	Valley Forth Memorial Spokane	Community
West Virginia	Dr. Fred V. Brewer	Fellowship Baptist Church Huntington	BBF
Wisconsin	Dr. Harley Keck	First Bible Baptist Church Greenbay	Independent Baptist
Wyoming	Dr. Morgan Thompson	First Baptist Church Cheyenne	

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Baptist Bible Fellowship (BBF)

Source: Moral Majority Report. Denominational identifications from Baptist Bible Fellowship Directory and local telephone books.